

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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P R 230558Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5548

INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 9397

EXDIS

E.O.: 11652 - GDS

TAGS: KS, KN, JA, UN, PFOR

SUBJECT: KOREA AND UN

SUMMARY: DEP ASST SECY SNEIDER, IN DISCUSSION OF KOREAN PENINSULA (ESPECIALLY UN ASPECTS) WITH FONOFF ASIAN DIRGEN YOSHIDA, STRESSED POSITIVE ASPECTS OF NEW ROK POLICY WHICH CREATE OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE INITIATIVE AT FORTH-COMING UNGA. SNEIDER REVIEWED IN GENERAL TERMS US POLICY ON UNCURKAND UNC, STRESSED IMPORTANCE TO ROK OF FIRM SUPPORT FROM USG AND GOJ, AND URGED STRONGLY THAT GOJ MAKE NO GESTURES TOWARD DPRK DURING DELICATE PERIOD LEADING UP TO AND THROUGH CONSIDERATION OF KOREA AT UNGA. END SUMMARY.

1. DEP ASST SECY SNEIDER CALLED ON FONOFF ASIAN AFFAIRS DIRGEN YOSHIDA JULY 20 TO DISCUSS SITUATION IN KOREAN PENINSULA, ESPECIALLY UN ASPECTS. UN AFFAIRS BUREAU COUNSELOR NODA, UN POL AFFAIRS DIV HEAD OWADA AND NORTHEAST ASIAN DIV HEAD SEO WERE ALSO PRESENT.

2. SNEIDER NOTED THAT ROK HAS CLEARLY OPTED FOR TWO KOREAS POLICY IN SHORT RUN AND HAS FIRM VIEW OF WHERE IT IS HEADED. POLICY CHANGES PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY FOR ROK AND FRIENDS TO SEIZE OFFENSIVE AT FORTHCOMING UNGA WITH RESOLUTION CALLING FOR ADMISSION OF BOTH KOREAS. IT IS NOT YET CLEAR WHAT DPRK VIEW MAY BE: THEIR IMMEDIATE REJECTION OF PARK'S
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PROPOSALS WAS TO BE EXPECTED, THOUGH THEIR OWN EFFORTS

TO ENTER UN AGENCIES SUGGEST THAT CURRENT PUBLIC POSTURE MAY NOT BE THEIR FINAL POSITION. DURING SECRETARY'S RECENT CONVERSATIONS IN SEOUL, ROK AGREED TO WORK CLOSELY WITH US, JAPAN AND OTHER FRIENDS IN DEVELOPING UN SCENARIO. ON THIS POINT, YOSHIDA REQUESTED AND SNEIDER PROMISED TO WORK TOWARD FIRM DATES IN FIRST HALF OF AUGUST FOR TRILATERAL (OR LARGER) CONSULTATIONS IN NEW YORK.

3. SNEIDER OBSERVED THAT THOUGH ROK, US, JAPAN AND OTHER FRIENDLY NATIONS AGREE ON DISSOLUTION OF UNCURK, AUSTRALIANS ARE MOVING TOO FAST. WE WISH TO HOLD OFF ANY ACTION BY UNCURK UNTIL LATE AGUST. JAPANESE AGREED. OWADA COMMENTED THAT AUSTRALIANS RECENTLY INDICATED TO FONOFF REALIZATION THEY SHOULD SLOW DOWN.

4. ON UNC, SNEIDER ASSERTED WE MUST STAND FIRM AS THERE IS NO REASON TO TERMINATE AT THIS TIME. USG BELIEVES WE CAN HOLD LINE AT UNGA PARTICULARLY IF WE OFFER RESOLUTION CALLING FOR ADMISSION OF BOTH KOREAS AND COMMUNIST SIDE TURNS IT DOWN.

5. IN RESPONSE TO YOSHIDA'S QUESTION, SNEIDER SAID ROK HAD ASKED SECRETARY IN SEOUL IF USG WOULD APPROACH PRC AND USSR. SECRETARY RESPONDED WE WOULDKEEP THIS POSSIBILITY IN MIND. SECRETARY ALSO TOLD ROK WE WOULD PUSH FOR RECIPROCAL RECOGNITION OF SOUTH KOREA BY COMMUNIST STATES THOUGH WE ARE NOT SANGUINE ABOUT OUR ABILITY TO PEGSUADE NON-COMMUNIST STATES TO DELAY RECOGNITION OF DPRK.

6. SNEIDER THEN TURNED TO MOST DELICATE POINT DISCUSSED WITH ROK, I.E., US AND JAPANESE RELATIONS WITH NORTH

KOREA. SNEIDER NOTED EXTREME ROK SENSITIVITY ON THIS ISSUE. SECRETARY HAD TOLD ROK THAT USG HAS NO PLANS TO DEAL WITH DPRK. SNEIDER TOLD YOSHIDA THAT SECRETARY HAD SPECIFICALLY ASKED HIM TO RAISE THIS MATTER AT FONOFF AND URGE THAT JAPAN TAKE NO STEPS TO EXPAND RE-

LATIONS WITH DPRK DURING DELICATE PERIOD WHILE WE ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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STILL MANEUVERING TOWARD UNGA. SNEIDER SPECIFIED THAT COMMERCIAL CREDITS, LDP DELEGATION VISITS TO DPRK ETC. WOULD FALL WITHIN AREA OF GESTURES TO BE AVOIDED AT THIS STAGE. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING JAPANESE DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEMS ON THIS ISSUE, SNEIDER POINTED OUT TWO FACTORS THAT HAD TO BE KEPT IN MIND: (A) ROK IS STILL NERVOUS AS TO WHETHER THEIR NEW POLICY IS CORRECT, OR IF THEY ARE

PROVIDING DPRK WITH GREATER OPPORTUNITY TO REAP BENEFITS THAN THEMSELVES; (B) ROK IS CONCERNED ABOUT ITS ABILITY TO INFLUENCE VOTES IN UNGA AND THEREFORE IS MOST ANXIOUS TO AVOID STEPS BY FRIENDS THAT COULD ENHANCE STATUS OF DPRK IN EYES OF OTHER NATIONS. SNEIDER CONCLUDED THAT, FOR ITS OWN PART USG ALSO STRONGLY HOPES GOJ WILL AVOID ANY GESTURES TOWARD DPRK IN VIEW DELICACY OF SITUATION PRIOR TOO AND THROUGH DISCUSSION OF KOREAN ISSUE AT UNGA, I.E. GOJ SHOULD HOLD OFF AT LEAST UNTIL WE SEE HOW KOREAN QUESTION FARES. IF

TWO KOREAS ARE ADMITTED, THEN THERE MAY CLEARLY BE ADVANTAGES TO IMPROVING CONTACTS WITH DPRK AND INTRODUCING FRESH BREEZE IN PYONGYANG.

7. YOSHIDA RESPONDED BY CITING DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESSURES AND DIFFICULTY, IN LIGHT OF NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, OF COUNTERING THOSE WHO ARGUE MAINTENANCE OF STRICT LIMITATIONS ON RELATIONS WITH DPRK. WHILE JAPAN HAS NO INTENTION OF STRENGTHENING NORTH KOREA'S MILITARY

POWER OR ITS WORLDWIDE POLITICAL POSITION, GOJ FEELS NECESSITY TO DEMONSTRATE SOME LIGHT AT END OF TUNNEL UNQTE FOR PUBLIC OPINION. SNEIDER RESPONDED THAT DOMESTIC PRESSURES FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS WITH DPRK SEEM TO COME FROM RATHER NARROW SECTOR, AND SINCE STRINGENCIES NEED NOT BE PERMANENT, GOJ COULD DELAY FOR TIME BEING. YOSHIDA ALSO MENTIONED POLITICAL NECESSITY OF TAKING SLIGHTLY SOFTER LINE ON DPRK IF GOJ IS TO INCREASE ASSISTANCE TO ROK. THOUGH YOSHIDA CHARACTERIZED THESE AS QTE HARMLESS MEASURES UNQTE, SNEIDER ARGUED THAT EVEN SMALL CHANGES COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS AT THIS TIME. SINCE OUR OBJECTIVE IS TO CONVINCE DPRK THAT IT MUST CHANGE ITS WAYS, IF IT IS ABLE TO ACQUIRE CREDITS WITHOUT

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BECOMING RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, WE LOSE IMPORTANT LEVER TO INDUCE CHANGE. SNEIDER NOTED THAT ECONOMIC FACTORS HAD BEEN POWERFULLY PERSUASIVE IN OUR ACHIEVING DETENTE WITH USSR AND PRC.

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 /026 W

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P R 230558Z JUL 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5549

INFO UMER /AMEMBASSY SEOUL 42301

CE-/USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 1562

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 9397

EXDIS

IN SHORT, SNEIDER SAID ALL ASPECTS OF SITUATION ARGUE
FOR HOLDING FIRE AT PRESENT TIME.

8. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTION, SNEIDER SAID WE DO NOT
EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY OF TWO KOREAS GAINING ENTRY TO UN
THIS FALL, BUT ARE NOT OPTIMISTIC IT WILL OCCUR. IN
ANY CASE RESOLUTION PROVIDES FOR ADMISSION OF TWO KOREAS
EXCELLENT BASIS FOR SEIZING OFXENSIVE.

9. ASKED ABOUT ROK POSITION ON UNC, SNEIDER SAID ISSUE
HAD BEEN DISCUSSED ONLY IN GENERAL TERMS DURING
SECRETARY'S VISIT TO SEOUL. FOR OUR PART, WE ARE AWARE
OF COMPLEXITIES OF ISSUE, INCLUDING ARMISTICE AGREEMENT,
MAINTENANCE OF DMZ, BASIS FOR US OPERATIONAL CONTROL
OF ROK FORCES, UMSOFA IN JAPAN, ETC. AND ARE BEGINNING TO STUDY ALL
RAMIFICATIONS IN DETAIL. HOWEVER, PRIORITIES ARE CLEAR:
MAINTAINING US FORCES IN KOREA COMES FIRST, MAINTAINING
UN COMMAND COMES SECOND. OWADA COMMENTED THAT FONOFF
IS ALSO STUDYING TECMNICALITIES AND HAS CONCLUDED THAT
DIFFICULTIES WITH UNC ARE NOT INSURMOUNTABLE. HOWEVER,
HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT MANY COUNTRIES SEE UNC AND UNCURK

AS TWO ASPECTS OF SAME ISSUE AND THEREFORE ARGUE THAT IF
ONE IS TERMINATED, SO SHOULD OTHER. SNEIDER AGREED
WE NEED TO PUBLICIZE IMPORTANT DISTINCTION BETWEEN
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THESE BODIES.

10. COMMENT: YOSHIDA WAS ESSENTIALLY NONCOMMITTAL
IN GESPONSE TO SNEIDER'S STRONG REQUEST THAT GOJ MAKE
NO GESTURES TOWARD DPRK AT THIS TIME. SNEIDER PLANS

TO FOLLOW UP WITH VICE MIN HOGEN JULY 23; EMBASSY WILL
ALSO CONTINUE TO MAKE THIS POINT TO NORTHEAST ASIA
DIVISION.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, RESOLUTIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, MEMBER ADMISSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JUL 1973
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: elyme
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973TOKYO09397
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: P750008-0129
From: TOKYO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730715/aaaaakvh.tel
Line Count: 227
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: elyme
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13 NOV 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <13-Nov-2001 by willialc>; APPROVED <30-Nov-2001 by elyme>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KOREA AND UNV
TAGS: PFOR, KS, KN, JA, UNGA, DPRK, (SNEIDER), (YOSHIDA)
To: ES S/S
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005